



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE NATIVES OF THE PATAGONIAN CHANNEL REGION

By CARL SKOTTSBERG

INTRODUCTION

THE Swedish Expedition of 1907-1909 to Patagonia, Tierra del Fuego, etc., visited, amongst other parts of Chile, the channel region between the Straits of Magellan and the Penas (not Peñas, as it is often spelled) gulf. The principal object of our studies, here as elsewhere, was the geology, physical geography, and botany of the region, but we also endeavored to devote as much attention as possible to the peculiar native people inhabiting the channels. However, a detailed study, like that made by the French Cape-Horn Expedition in 1882-1883 on the Yahgan tribe, would require a fixed land station where work could be conducted during a year at least. In the circumstances all we could do was to gather some preliminary notes and to prepare the way for more competent investigators. If anything is to be done, it must be done soon, for the channel Indians are becoming extinct.

The canoe Indians in the channels are generally spoken of as *Álukulup* (incorrectly written *Alacoluf* and *Alakalouf* by English missionaries; Fitzroy has *Alikoolip*). The Chileans use this word, and so did our interpreter. According to earlier authors they should not bear this name, as they belong rather to the Chonos; some others even assign them to the tribe that once inhabited southern Chiloé, the Guaitecas and Chonos islands. However, Deniker¹ remarks: "Ils ne faut pas confondre . . . les Chonos avec la peuplade homonyme vivant plus au sud, entre le cap Peñas et le détroit de Magellan; celle-ci paraît se rapprocher plutôt des Fuégiens." It is therefore possibly wrong to apply the name "Chonos" to the people south of Penas gulf. Pritchard² divides the channel tribes

¹ *Les Races et les Peuples de la Terre*, p. 631, Paris, 1900.

² *Researches into the Physical History of Mankind*, vol. v, London, 1847.

into (1) Chonos, of Chiloé, (2) Peyes to S. lat. 51°, and (3) Keyes or Key-yus to the straits. I am at a loss to know the source of the two last names, which have become forgotten. Latitude 51° is not and probably never was a boundary line between different tribes. In his work on Patagonia, Coppinger¹ follows the great explorer Fitzroy, designating the people in question the "Channel or Chonos tribe." Fitzroy² says that the Chonos Indians lived between the Chonos islands and the straits, and the Alukulups between the straits and Beagle channel, and (p. 142) remarks that probably no Chonos Indians were met with north of Cape Tres Montes. Their southern boundary is thus described: The Chonos occupied the northern, the Alukulups the southern shore of the Straits; they used to meet and also to combat. If this be right, it explains the occurrence of two different types of canoes in the straits.

Lately, a German geographer, P. Krüger, has stated that only one people have lived from Chiloé to the straits.³ He writes (p. 27) that, at the time of the conquest, Indians called "Alacalufes" lived on the Chonos islands and on the coast of the mainland, but that they are now confined to the farthest south—Smyth channel and the Magellan straits. Further, that in earlier centuries the Chonos Indians and even those south of Taitao peninsula were taken by missionaries and brought to the east coast of Chiloé. Even now, he continues, in the southeastern corner of Chiloé and on the Chauques islands the language of the Huilliches (i. e. people of the south), an Araucanian dialect, is spoken. He thus aims to explain that there is still much Indian blood in the veins of the modern Chilotes. To this I need only remark that this fact may be accounted for without resorting to the theory that it was due to immigration from the south. If the language of the immigrants was Araucanian, they did not come from the channel region and had nothing to do with the small remnant of "Alacalufes" in Smyth channel, for their languages seem to have nothing in common.

¹ *Cruise of the "Alert,"* London, 1883.

² *Voyages of the "Adventure" and "Beagle,"* vol. II, London, 1839.

³ Die patagonischen Anden zwischen 42° und 44° s. Br., *Petermanns Mitteilungen*, Ergänzungsheft 164, Gotha, 1909.

Fitzroy says that the Alukulups also inhabited the western entrance of Beagle channel, where, according to Hyades' and Deniker's maps, only Yahgans are found. There is another difference between the statements of these explorers. Fitzroy describes the Alukulup canoe as being like that of the Yahgan, both being made of bark; Hyades says (p. 13) that they have plank canoes, which he saw in Froward reach. Captain King also mentions such canoes in Port Gallant (p. 313) and in Fortescue bay. As Fitzroy's "Chonos tribe" lived along the northern shore of the straits, this is easily explained. Plank canoes have been observed farther south, as in Barbara channel. Fitzroy (p. 194) believes they were stolen.

According to Bougainville the Indians of Magellan straits are called "*pécherais*," a term that has become much used by tourists and also by men of science. The Fuegians were said to use this word very often. No one was able to give me an explanation of it, but I am sure that in any event it never was the name of a Fuegian tribe, and indeed there is absolutely no need of such a word. Fitzroy thinks that Bougainville's "*pécherais*" belonged to the Alukulup.

Despite the differences between the descriptions of Fitzroy and Hyades, it is obvious that they meant the same people, as is shown by their vocabularies; these certainly exhibit many differences, but we must remember that one observer was English, the other French, and that it is exceedingly difficult to record words spoken by Fuegians. This language is, however, totally different from that spoken in the Patagonian channels. Thus the straits seem to be a linguistic boundary.

Why, then, did our interpreter call the Indians seen by us Alukulup? Certainly two tribes do not bear the same name. Probably the explanation is that she had lived for some time on Dawson island, where the Salesian missionaries so designate them. Although we cannot prove that Hyades or Fitzroy used this name incorrectly, it seems certain that we cannot apply it to the channel people north of the straits. Their proper designation I have not been able to determine. During the voyage I did not doubt that the name used by the interpreter was the correct one, and therefore made no inquiries.



Hush

XXXXXXXXXX

Eastern limit of deciduous forests —

As the tribes south of the straits are called "Fuegians," we may call the tribe here described "West Patagonian"—not a very apt name, to be sure, as they have nothing in common with the Patagonians, or Tehuelches, but still more or less appropriate as the tribe inhabits the region now often rightly or wrongly called West Patagonia.

It is probable that these Indians formerly mixed with Fuegians, and it seems certain that they also met with the Tehuelches. Fitzroy speaks of a people called by him "Huemul" because they wandered about Otway and Skyring hunting a species of deer (*Furcifer chilensis*). Now, the West Patagonians still make excursions to Skyring, as will later be seen. Therefore I am almost convinced that Fitzroy's "Huemules" were channel Indians observed during excursions into the land of the Tehuelches.

BRIEF NOTES ON OUR ROUTE

The members of the Channel expedition were, besides the author, Dr P. Quensel, geologist, and Captain José Bordes, *piloto mayor* in the Chilean navy. To Captain Bordes we are greatly indebted for the benefit of his wide experience, which was cheerfully placed at our disposal. By reason of the unequaled generosity of the Chilean government we were enabled to make use of a comfortable steamer, the S. S. *Meteoro*, belonging to the naval station at Punta Arenas, for our voyage. Leaving the capital of Patagonia, May 21, 1908, we anchored in Port Gallant the following day in order to enlist the services of an interpreter. Three canoes were seen here, each made of a single log—a type of recent origin, according to Bordes. After much negotiation we were successful in finding an interpreter, an elderly woman called Emilia (her mission name), or Akičakwarrakwilti (figs. 130, 131). She knew some Spanish, and spoke her own language fluently. At nightfall one canoe containing two men and their wives came alongside; they spent several hours aboard and gave us much information. At Port Gallant an Austrian has lived many years with an Indian woman; the natives regard him as one of their own and visit his place for the purpose of trading otter-skins.

The next morning we left Port Gallant and anchored in Puerto Angosto, a beautiful harbor surrounded by steep mountains and with a pretty waterfall. From here we steamed to the Felix lighthouse to land the mail for the staff, crossed the straits, and anchored in Sholl bay. The



FIG. 130.—Emilia.

weather was clear, and from our anchorage we had a fine view of Muñoz Gamero peninsula and of Desolation island. The next day we proceeded westward as far as Westminster Hall, which was left on port; then passing Condor island we went northwestward through Esmeralda channel, thence through Lamiré passage east of King island, and through La-

guera passage, which is only about a hundred meters broad and in which the route winds between kelp-patches and small rocks; finally through Indian passage down to Cuarenta Dias harbor on the north side of Atalaya island. From here we had to attempt a landing on the famous Evangelistas rocks, for we brought provisions for the men in service at the lighthouse. Generally a vessel bound for Evangelistas is obliged to await an opportunity to land the stores, watching the weather from Cuarenta Dias. A landing is not easily effected, as there is an enormous swell and nothing that deserves the name of a landing-place. We were quite fortunate however, and visited the lighthouse without delay on May 26. Here systematic meteorological work is done, the results of which were of much importance to our knowledge of Indian life; for how could one be able to under-

stand it thoroughly without an adequate knowledge of the climate of the country? We now know that there is hardly a place inhabited by man that is more disagreeable than the Patagonian channels: day after day a thick fog overhangs the mountain slopes, obscuring the view; week after week the rain pours incessantly, with frequent gales, and a temperature seldom exceeding a few degrees above the freezing point. The summer is in reality no summer, and winter is such only in name; indeed seasons are practically unknown.



FIG. 131.—Emilia.

In the afternoon, just as we prepared to leave Evangelistas rocks, a thick fog fell upon us. We made dangerous and fruitless attempts to reach a harbor, and were obliged to spend the whole night running to and fro in the entrance of the straits. At daylight, the fog lifting, we turned toward Queen Adelaide archipelago and anchored in a cove called Port San Ramón, on Pacheco island. The next

day we entered Anita channel, a very narrow and picturesque passage, and a second landing was made in Port Vacas. From Canal Anita one way led through very dirty water into Viel channel, where we met the first Indian canoe since leaving Port Gallant. It contained a party of seven, all so shy that the efforts of our interpreter to persuade them to come on board were utterly fruitless. The same day we arrived in Puerto Ramirez in Smyth channel where a Chilean and his family live in charge of a supply of coal deposited there for the use of the navy. The 31st of May we weighed anchor and went northward by the usual route through

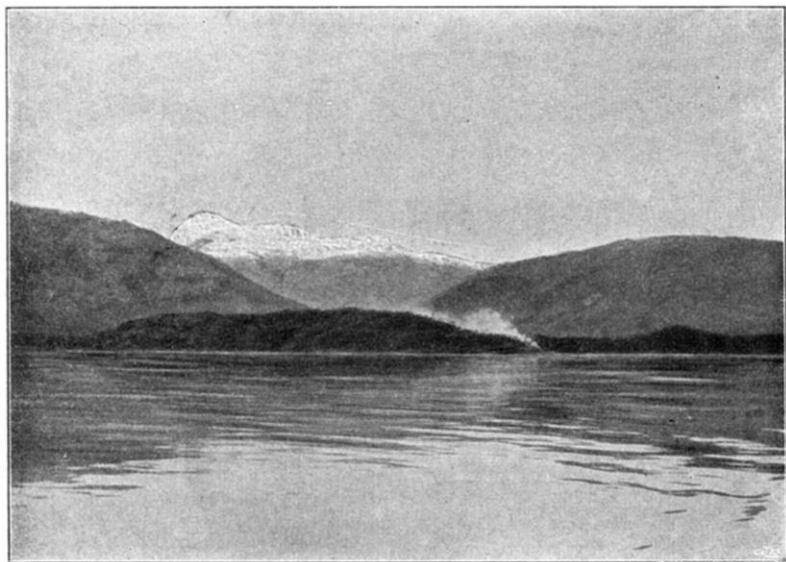


FIG. 132.—Port Bueno. The distant smoke is from an Indian camp-fire.

Collingwood strait into Sarmiento channel and anchored for the night in Occasion cove on Piazzi island. The next day we met two heavily laden canoes, manned by two brothers with their families, who came from Port Bueno looking for a new camping-place. We took the entire party aboard and proceeded to their starting point, where we remained two days and had a good opportunity to study the natives at home (fig. 132). Some of them wore only their original mantle of sealskin; the others had a coat, or at least a waistcoat, an

old rag, or some such makeshift; the small children went quite naked in spite of the low temperature and a cold rain. On shore we found some Indians who had been left behind, for they did not possess a canoe; but probably their more wealthy tribesmen had intended to return for them. Here we discovered a large, well-built hut which will be described later. Our friends did not take possession of it, but hastened to build their usual small wigwams as soon as they landed.

Once more under way, we met the next native party, a canoe with one man and two women, in Guia narrows. They came alongside to barter, but would not come aboard, and one of the women repeatedly shouted "*Cristiano malo!*" As we could not heave to in the narrows, we went to Rayo cove, hoping the Indians would follow us; but we were deceived, so we continued northward, anchoring in Molyneux sound.

The next day we chose the route east of Saumarez island. From Penguin inlet, which was seen to be full of ice, numerous small floes were drifting out into the channel. When we were outside Port Grappler we saw smoke coming from the thicket. We stopped at once and had just let the anchor go when a canoe with ten men came to visit us. One of them, a man of about 55 years and the only gray-haired native we saw during the expedition, was in command. This party was not very agreeable to deal with; they begged for everything on board and declined to let us measure them, and they showed much indignation when we refused to give them liquor. Finally we were compelled to ask them to return to their quarters. At midnight we were disturbed by a noise alongside the steamer—the natives had come back and demanded to be taken aboard, which of course we could not allow. Early next morning the whole party was there again, now increased in number to twenty-four, including women and children. At first only the men came aboard; they were very suspicious and would not permit their families to come, but finally they grew more tractable. However, in spite of Emilia's eloquence we could not gain their full confidence. They did not understand our interpreter as well as desired, and Emilia declared that they spoke a different language. This, however,

was not the case, for I could see that they made themselves tolerably well understood, so that it must have been only a question of difference in dialect. What I was able to record in the way of a vocabulary I gleaned from Emilia and from the people in Port Gallant and in Port Bueno, hence I know almost nothing of the Grappler dialect.

After these Indians had spent some hours with us, they departed, and later we rowed ashore to see their quarters. Now a strange occurrence took place. As soon as they saw our boat, women and children ran away on the path leading into the forest, and the men gathered in front of their wigwams, apparently wild with rage, armed with stones, clubs, and sticks, and shouting that we must not come any nearer. As the boat touched the shore, they prepared to attack us. Emilia went to speak with them and told us that they were afraid of the shotgun brought by one of the officers, and only by leaving it behind did we gain permission to land. I dare say they were brave men, standing ready to defend their homes with the simple weapons at their disposal, not knowing whether we were armed with revolvers. Some of them, especially the old men, exhibited great fear of the camera; but they finally made friends with us, so that we conducted our observations without further disturbance.

In the afternoon we left these Indians and anchored in Port Eden. The next day Port Simpson was visited. We pulled up a small river which discharges here, and came into a small lagoon, where we landed, in order, as usual, to examine the vegetation. Thence we continued our journey, passing the famous English narrows and anchoring in Port Grey, where we found time for a second excursion. The next evening found us at anchor in Hale cove. After an excursion around the cove, we entered Baker inlet, a series of beautiful deep fiords with high rocky shores. The mountainsides are very barren, and only in the sheltered harbors is the usual rain forest found, owing to the formidable gales that sweep through the inlet. We anchored in Port Cuericucri, not far from the entrance. The next day we went farther in, but only to pass through Troya channel and then to turn westward again, for our diminishing supply of coal

necessitated haste. We anchored in Port Merino Jarpa, where we spent the night, then went back to Hale cove and thence to the Harbor of Isles. On June 12 we crossed Messier channel and passed through Albatross and Fallos channels into Adelbert channel, where we stopped in Heinrich's fiord. The next day we continued eastward, back to Messier, having rounded Little Wellington island and without having seen any trace of Indians other than their empty wigwams. After having passed English narrows once more, we found an anchorage in Port Riofrio. Running southward from here, we chose the passage through Chasm reach, a wonderful deep gorge through the mountains. As we emerged, we met a canoe and recognized some of the Grappler people—the first Indians we had met since we left this harbor going northward. We spent the night in Port Charrua, a most beautiful channel cove. On June 15 we passed into Andrew sound for Pitt channel, where it proved very difficult to find an anchorage. We tried a place close to Kentish islands, where 7 and 11 fathoms are marked on the Admiralty chart, but found no suitable place, although we looked all around until darkness came upon us, when we cast anchor on the south side of the channel with 19 fathoms; the shore was steep and we were not more than 30 meters from the beach. Before dawn we weighed and entered Pitt channel. Where Peel inlet branches, a sandbank has been reported, partly barring the entrance to the southern branch; nearer the southern shore there is plenty of room and water, and without adventure we steamed in toward the bottom of this most magnificent fiord. It was with a certain curiosity, for we wanted to stop here a couple of days, and no harbor or even anchorage was known. Good fortune helped us, for on the southern side, about three miles from the end, we discovered a beautiful harbor with a small island in the entrance, dividing it into two channels and sheltered from all winds. Twice a day the tidal currents filled it with drifting ice, but as the floes were small we lay thoroughly safe. The officers made a sketch of the harbor, which we called Puerto Témpanos, i. e., "Ice-flow cove" (fig. 133).

The landscape about the inlet is remarkable in its splendor. One is not far from the ice-clad cordillera with its lofty, shining, white

peaks; large glaciers descend toward the inlet from four valleys, embrace three nunataks, and join a gigantic stream of ice coming down to the water, where it terminates in a wall about 40 meters high and with an unbroken length of about three kilometers. The ice is much furrowed with deep clefts and crevices.

In the afternoon of June 18 we left Peel inlet and took the shortest route to Port Bueno, which had been abandoned by the Indians. We continued the 20th, and had just passed the entrance to

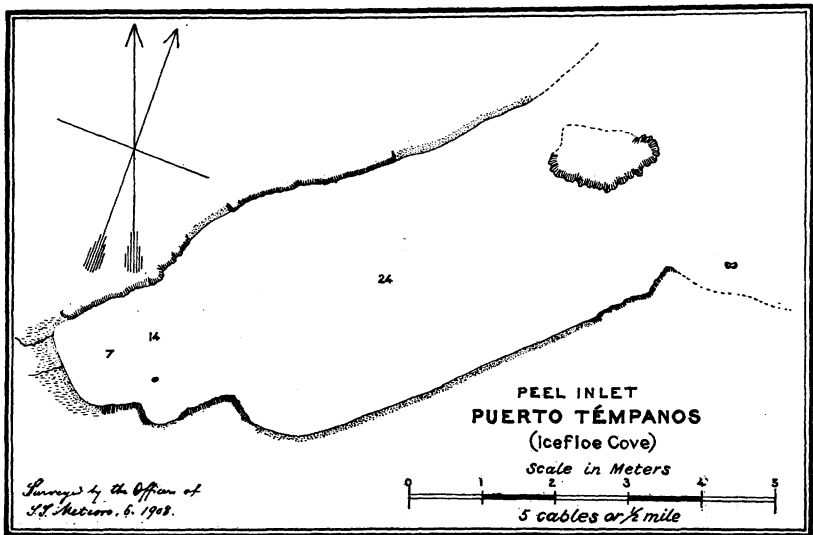


FIG. 133.

Columbine cove when, smoke being reported, we turned and stopped. There were three Indians on shore, a married couple and the brother of the wife. They were busy repairing their canoe and were in the happy possession of an ax. The next day we were back in Muñoz Gamero (Port Ramirez), where we met some Indians, who spent half a day with us on board. On our way back to Punta Arenas we anchored in Woodsworth bay and Port Borja. We left Emilia in Port Gallant on the 24th and arrived in Punta Arenas late the same evening.

PRESENT NUMBER AND DISTRIBUTION OF THE WEST PATAGONIANS

The northern geographic limit of the people in question is Penas gulf. They are said to visit even the western skerries in order to hunt seal, but I have reason to suppose that these dangerous excursions are seldom made nowadays. From the longitudinal channels visits are made into the fiords east of them, as Boca de Canales, Baker, Caldeleugh, and Ultima Esperanza. They also go down into Obstruction sound and directly across the isthmus separating it from Skyring water. The most famous and perhaps most difficult of these portages has been described in thrilling fashion by Byron in his narrative of the loss of the *Wager* (London, 1768). Coppinger also mentions some portages. Skyring pass was visited long ago. Bynoe says¹ that in Obstruction sound he found a large hut and some canoes, which he explains by the statement that the Pampa Indians (Tehuelches) make excursions to the channels, walk to the pass, and then use boats kept in storage there, and finally return to their own country. I think this explanation is wrong, first, because it is very difficult if not impossible to travel afoot from the pampa to the western part of Skyring, a region unknown when Bynoe wrote his description; and, secondly, we know from our own experience that the channel Indians make excursions to Skyring. What I cannot know for certain is why Bynoe found canoes, apparently abandoned by the natives, at Obstruction sound. Perhaps the Indians were in hiding, not wishing to reveal their knowledge of the portage.

During our visit to Skyring we went to Excelsior sound, where the portage ends. This inlet is far too long as located on the new Chilean map—half the length would be more nearly correct. As there is no beach of sand or gravel, there are no traces of a road ending there; the bay is surrounded by the compact wall of the evergreen forest. Had we not known that the road must be there, we hardly would have discovered it. We followed it 400 meters, at which distance it ends in a fresh-water lagoon. From the top of a hill we could see another lagoon, and there may be even a third one between Skyring and Obstruction sound. The road is

¹ See Fitzroy, p. 199.

laid with thin sticks directly across, the distance between them varying from three to five feet, and follows a wet depression along a cliff (fig. 134). We suppose that the canoes are pulled along, hence the sticks. Byron states that when crossing Ofqui the boats are taken to pieces and each plank carried separately. At several places in Skyring we found the framework of huts and were told by settlers that a few canoes are seen every year in June or July.

Why do the natives come to Skyring? The water is brackish and consequently animal life is poor in comparison with that of the channels. Numerous evidences of Indian repasts prove that they bring provisions with them on their journeys to Skyring water. Thus, we found bones of seafowl and seals, heaps of shells of the large *Mytilus*, and bones of animals that do not occur in Skyring. At one place we observed that a canoe had been built, or at least repaired. I have reached the conclusion that one of the reasons the Indians go to Skyring is their need of large trees, for here the forest trees (*Nothofagus betuloides* and *Drimys winteri*) are much greater than in the channels, where they are often so stunted as to



FIG. 134.—Portage between Obstruction sound and Skyring.

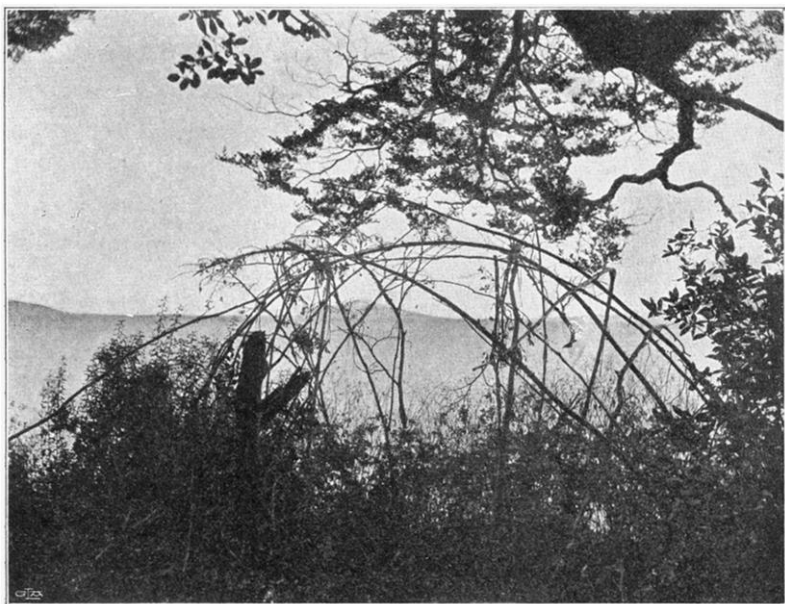


FIG. 135.—Framework of hut, Skyring.

be hardly fit for use. That in earlier days guanacos and huemuls were hunted is evident, but to judge from the total absence of bows and arrows the present Indians seem to leave the large animals alone. They now have something else to come for: the settlements, where they may freely practise their talents as beggars.

We may regard the Magellan straits as the southern boundary of the channel Indians. Only a few families go so far, preferring to confine themselves to Smyth channel and the archipelago west of it. Concerning their present number, no exact statement can be made. Barclay¹ estimated the "Alacalouf" at 800. He must have meant the West Patagonians, for there are no other free-living channel Indians, nor were there any in 1904. I think the estimate is far too high. In our cruise we counted about 80, and were told of about a dozen more. This was in winter, when most of them are found in the channels. I presume we saw or heard of a half

¹ *Geographical Journal*, 1904.

or at least a third of the tribe. Several persons living in Magallanes and familiar with the channels are of the opinion that the natives may be estimated at about 300. I believe they never were a numerous people, but they certainly have decreased rapidly during the last half-century.

PHYSICAL CHARACTERS

We went to the channels in hope of being able to make complete measurements of all the natives met, but we had underestimated the difficulties. Through the kindness of Professor G. Retzius, of Stockholm, we carried a complete outfit of anthropometrical instruments, but it was very difficult, if not impossible, to persuade the natives that these burnished steel objects were not deadly weapons, consequently we were able to measure only six men and five women. The results have been published elsewhere,¹ hence it is not necessary to repeat them here.

As no anthropometrical observations on the Fuegian Alukulup have been made, we can compare our measurements only with those of the Yahgans. Fitzroy quotes Bynoe's description of the natives in Trinidal gulf: "We all pronounced them to be a finer race than we had seen on the water. . . ." He tells various things indicating that they should differ considerably from the Yahgans. Also Mr Low² describes them in a manner indicating that we are dealing with a people far better developed than the Yahgans. Our observations, incomplete as they are, do not confirm this opinion. The photographs reproduced here and in my account of the whole expedition,³ as well as the measurements, which speak more plainly than vague descriptions, show that they do not differ greatly from the Yahgans, while their general appearance is more or less the same. The upper body and arms are more strongly developed than the legs, which are thin and bent. The color of the skin, eyes, and hair is the same in the two peoples. The small children are lighter in color; they have brown hair and dark-blue eyes, which later

¹ *Ymer, Tidskrift utgifven af Svenska Sällskapet för Antropologi och Geografi*, Stockholm, 1910.

² See Fitzroy, p. 189.

³ *The Wilds of Patagonia*, London, 1911.

become deep brown. The hair of the genitalia and the beard is very sparse; nowadays it is not always removed.

According to Hyades the hair of the Yahgans turns gray only with advanced age. We saw one man with gray hair—the “cacique” at Port Grappler, previously mentioned (fig. 136). I

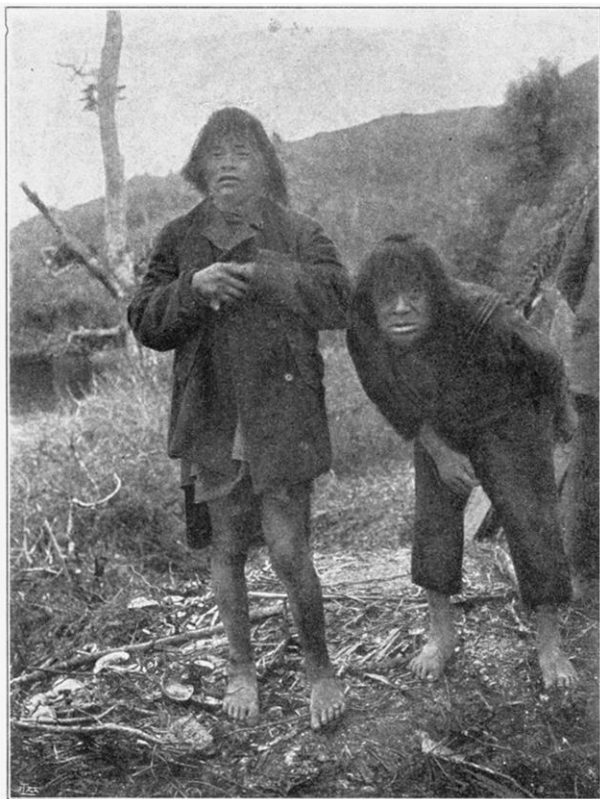


FIG. 136.—Indians of Port Grappler. The figure at the right is the “cacique.”

believe the age of this man, which we estimated at about 55 years, may be considered fairly advanced.

In comparison with the Yahgans our natives are somewhat more strongly built; the men are taller (1581 mm. against 1571 mm.), but the women are shorter (1438 mm. against 1474 mm.). Probably more extended observations would level these differences. The

West Patagonians are more broad-shouldered; the girth of the chest is greater; the head is perhaps a little larger, but more narrow across the temples; the distance between the malars is not so great; also the distance between the angles of the lower jaw and between the eyes is less. The mouth is perhaps broader.

CHARACTER AND QUALITIES OF THE WEST PATAGONIANS

It is often argued that in their culture the Fuegians belong to the lowest scale, and what is said of them, if it be true, may also be ascribed to the channel tribe. Certainly they all still live in the stone age, but this is not due to lack of intelligence so much as to unfavorable conditions, for their land, notwithstanding its luxuriant rain forest, is utterly poor, and no metals were ever available. Perhaps no other people have a harder struggle for existence. The climate is inimical to agriculture of any kind, as it is cold; rain and wind are almost incessant the year round, while there is scarcely any seasonal change. Impenetrable forests reeking with moisture and extensive swamps cover the slopes to the water's edge, from which, when the sky chances to be tolerably clear, the steep mountains with their perpetual snow and ice can be seen. Nature seems dead in this region. There are few birds on the water. As one makes the acquaintance of the natives, he ceases to question why they stand so low in the scale of culture, but rather wonders how they manage to exist at all.

As may be expected, the faculty of observation is well developed in the West Patagonians. Their language is rich in words for all kinds of natural products. Their faculty for finding their way into every corner, where a white man would soon be lost, is wonderful. Their memory likewise is well developed, and they exhibit, like many other primitive people, a pronounced talent for mimicry. In spite of this, it is very difficult for them to learn another language; their own tongue is certainly governed by laws quite different from those of civilized languages. It is amusing to hear them repeat, without hesitation and fairly correctly, a Swedish or a German sentence, for example, the meaning of which is unknown to them; but if they desire to use the same words in order to express themselves, they are not very clever.

Concerning the religious beliefs of this people, our investigations gave only negative results. We are not aware of any ceremonies—they may exist for aught we know, but probably, as with the Yahgans, are of a non-religious nature. They seem to dread their dead comrades, against whom they try to protect themselves by carrying amulets, such as a small leather pouch worn round the neck and containing hair of a dead person. Such articles, however, they evidently did not value very highly, as they would part with one for a match-box or a piece of tobacco.

Some travelers have declared that the Patagonians have true religious ceremonies. Fitzroy, quoting Mr Low, states that they make singular signs before eating, as a kind of invocation; but we always saw them devour their food without ceremony of any description.

The reputation of the channel Indians among the whites is not very high. We are told of treacherous assaults on people who never did them any harm. Such an assault occurred not far from Ultima Esperanza a short time before our arrival. I should imagine, however, that the suspicion and treachery ascribed to them have been inspired by unscrupulous Europeans causing the natives to lose their confidence in the white race; hence a white man is usually regarded as an enemy. Love between mother and child is strongly developed. In order to show how low the West Patagonians stand, it is said that the men sometimes offer their children for barter; but judging by our own observations the men are quite as fond of the babies as the women. How, then, can we explain that they often leave their offspring without clothes and keep them for themselves? I think that the garments that we offer them are regarded mostly as adornment, for we saw them drape themselves in old rags that were of practically no protection against the harshness of the climate. The small children are carried on their mother's backs, where they keep warm, or gather round the fire in the hut or in the canoe.

Manifestations of animosity are exhibited by the natives for the most insignificant reasons. They may feel mortally offended by an innocent joke. Inconstancy is a common trait. I do not

think that a native takes seriously any promise given by him. Jealousy is not unknown, and the husband is said to demand fidelity of his wife. Exceptions, however, are met with, as when a man sells the virtue of his wife for a cigarette; but it must be remembered that such cases are due to contact with the outcasts of civilization.

We gained the impression that the channel Indians are melancholic. If this be true, there is little cause for wonder, for the babe first opens its eyes toward a leaden sky; everything is saturated with cold rain; the wind howls almost continuously. If the child does not die, its life becomes a never-ceasing struggle; it does not become light-hearted, but bold, as is reflected in the daring boat-journeys. But, as other natives, when they sit about the fire and have plenty to eat, they forget their misery for the moment.

The families seem to live separately, governed by the husband. It was a mere chance that so many people were seen under the command of one man as in Port Grappler; in this case he was the oldest man of the company, which separated only a few days after our visit. Monogamy seems to be the rule, but there are some men with two wives. The women are not exactly ill-treated. They have the same occupations as the Yahgans. No family seen by us had more than three children; the mortality is great during infancy.

WEST PATAGONIANS AND CIVILIZATION

Ever since the sixteenth century the channel Indians have been visited now and then by white men, sometimes at great intervals. While the Fuegians have been the subject of the ministrations of energetic missionaries, with the result that they will soon be extinct, the relations between the West Patagonians and civilization have remained the same, although visitors have been more frequent during the last century. Although this contact has been comparatively slight, it has had a malign influence on the natives, changing them into lazy beggars whose only desire is for alcohol, tobacco, and clothing. It has also been the means of introducing distressing maladies, especially syphilis, shown by indisputable symptoms indicating advanced stages of that disease.



WEST PATAGONIAN CAMP

The Chilean authorities do not take much notice of the Indians. As they live in a country which seems to be useless for white people, it is certainly not necessary to exterminate them. It seems to be of no consequence to the authorities whether they live or not.

CAMPING PLACES AND HOUSES

The hut is situated at the forest edge (fig. 135), and as the trees grow to the water's edge, only a few steps separate it from the beach. This form of shelter is little more than a name, but it would require much labor to clear a space in the forest—too much for people who remain only a few days in one place and then seek a new camping-ground. On the beach are the canoes, where they are dragged up on their sticks. About the hut are all sorts of refuse, and as the immediate vicinity is used as a latrine, the site is anything but attractive. Seldom did we see more than two or three huts together, and it is not certain that all were occupied at the same time. From the camp a narrow path leads into the forest,—such was the case in Port Bueno and in Port Grappler, and along this the women and children fled as we approached.

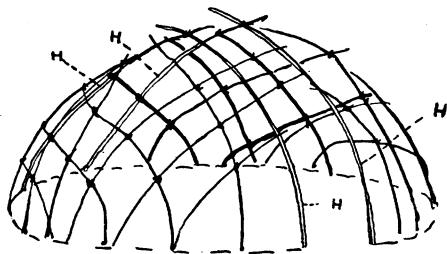


FIG. 137.—Framework of an ordinary wigwam.

In Port Bueno we desired to survey the path, but were prevented by the natives. When we returned and found the place empty, we examined the site but could discover nothing remarkable.

The hut referred to has the shape of a beehive and is about 1.8 to 2 meters high. The descriptions found in literature are sometimes more or less incorrect. As we have taken part in the erection of their houses, I may describe them in a few words. First, four long, flexible sticks of *Drimys*, *Desfontainea*, or *Maytenus* are selected, tied together in pairs, and set into the ground, forming the first two parallel arches (fig. 137). Between them is the door. Other sticks are then planted to complete the circle, bent toward

the first arches, and fastened. Finally a variable number of shorter sticks are arranged in the same manner, extending obliquely across the others; at the points of intersection they are tied together with the tough stems or leaves of *Marsippospermum grandiflorum*, a *Juncacea*. The framework is now ready. A thick covering of grass (*Hierochloa magellanica*, *Festuca fuegiana*, and *Carex trifida*) is next laid; small twigs of trees or bushes and large fern fronds (*Blechnum magellanicum*) are also used, as well as pieces of cloth or



FIG. 138.—Hut covered with sealskins.

blankets. If sea-lion skins are available, they alone may be used, without the grass (fig. 138). In the middle of the floor is a shallow cavity for the fire, but no special opening for the smoke is provided. The entrance may be covered with a piece of skin or cloth; other skins, or blankets or beech-twigs are placed on the ground.

The larger houses are sometimes of different construction. Their shape is that of a half ellipsoid. One, in Port Bueno, was 12 meters long, 4 m. broad, and 3.5 m. high. It was built of selected

sticks which crossed one another at regular intervals, and was covered with grass and beech-twigs (fig. 139). The lashings were of bast of *Libocedrus tetragona* or of sinews of birds. Several families had occupied this house the previous summer, and there were signs of several hearths. In winter the small huts are preferred, as they are easier to keep warm. Perhaps the larger ones have another meaning unknown to us. The other, larger hut was only half the size of the one described. Such houses are mentioned in literature.

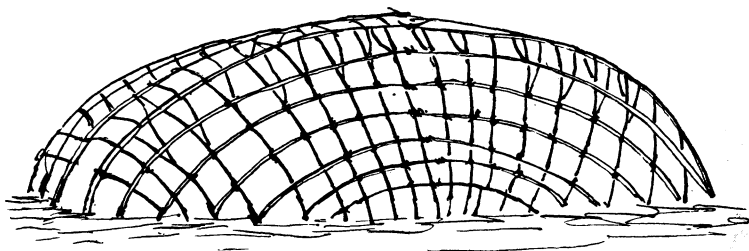


FIG. 139.—Skeleton of large house.

Bynoe¹ discovered them in Obstruction sound and describes them as having the appearance of a capsized boat and large enough to accommodate forty or fifty persons. As there were numerous traces of canoes having been built at the place, it seems probable that channel Indians had come there for that purpose. Canoe-building may occupy several months, and therefore the natives took the trouble to erect substantial houses. The existence of these huts is contrary to the explanation of the portage given by Bynoe.

THE CANOE

The canoe is known both from descriptions and from illustrations, hence it is not necessary to enter into details (fig. 140). According to Coppinger² the creeper *Campsidium chilense* is used for sewing the planks together; but this is not always the case, for the canoes are built also where no *Campsidium* grows, in which event bast of *Libocedrus* is used. At the present time new canoes are made with the aid of axes or other iron tools, but formerly the Indians had only

¹ Fitzroy, p. 199.

² Coppinger, op. cit.

fire, and stone hatchets, musselshells, etc., to serve them in their boat-building operations. Such old canoes are still to be found, for the planks seem to defy the process of decay. As is well known, the Yahgan canoe is totally different, being made of bark and as a rule not lasting more than six months.¹

Paddles are made of *Libocedrus* wood, in one or two pieces. When made of two pieces the blade portion is provided with two

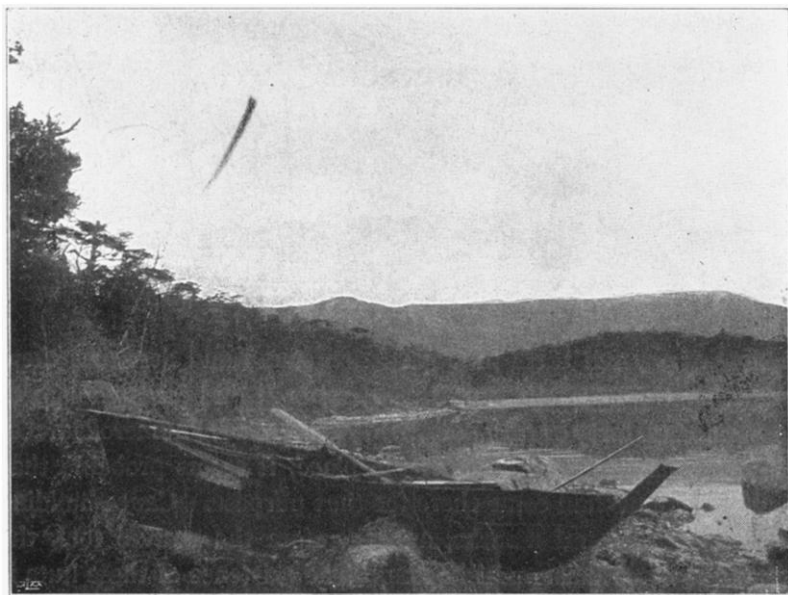


Fig. 140.—The canoe.

holes at one end, by means of which the handle is fastened with strings of bast.

The canoe is the principal property of a channel family, and two families may own one in common, but it must be large enough to contain the members and all their possessions. In one canoe we noted, besides half a dozen people and quite as many dogs, the following articles: three long oars, one short steering oar, handles for the harpoons, some large sealion skins, implements for taking shells and sea-urchins, wooden rollers for hauling the canoe, whale

¹ Hyades, op. cit.

bones and baleen, large pieces of blubber, heaps of mussels, a bag of whale-hide and several baskets containing blubber, a bark bucket with drinking water, a bailer of sealskin (fig. 141), a bag of sealskin with tools, harpoons, and sinews, an iron ax, a painter skilfully plaited of *Marsippospermum*, and large bundles of the same plant. We did not see such large canoes (7 by 30 feet) as described by Bynoe.¹

HOUSEHOLD ARTICLES, CLOTHING, AND ORNAMENTS

The channel people do not possess anything worthy of the name of furniture. Their most important articles are the baskets plaited of *Marsippospermum*, dried over a fire. The Yahgan types figured by Hyades are rare; the most common kind has the mouth expanded by a strip of baleen, and the meshes are larger (fig. 142).

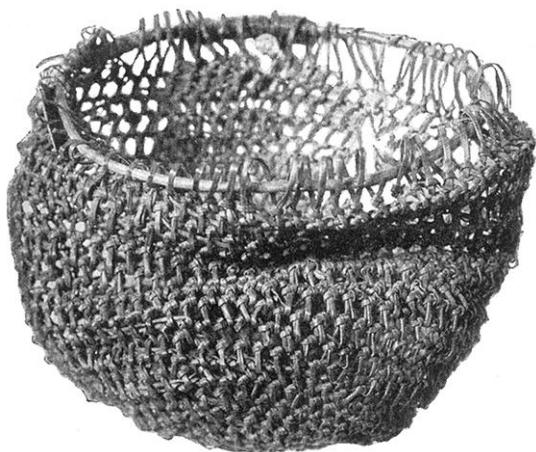


FIG. 142.—The common type of basket. ($\frac{1}{3}$)



FIG. 141.—Bailer of sealskin. ($\frac{1}{3}$)

An Indian family always has a supply of these baskets for gathering mussels, sea-urchins, fish, etc. Sometimes they use a circular wooden box, three or four decimeters in diameter, with a loose lid of the same shape as the box, for containing their smaller objects. They also

¹ Fitzroy, p. 197.

employ, for a similar purpose, small bags of sealskin with the hairy side inward. Of aboriginal tools they possessed awls of bone or of huemul horn, large shells, flint knives, and stone axes, but such implements are now very rare. Coppinger saw only a

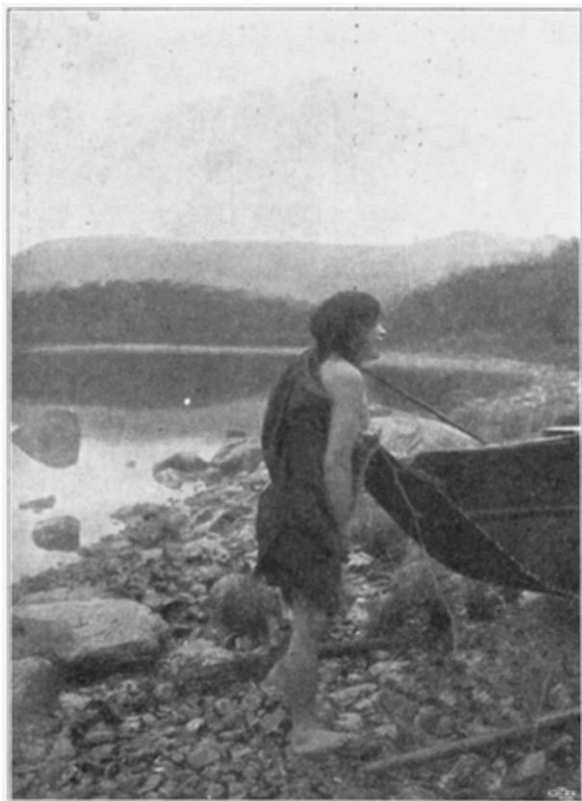


FIG. 143.—West Patagonian at his canoe.

single ax, and we asked in vain for them: they have been entirely superseded by modern implements, often of very inferior quality. Among their most noteworthy aboriginal objects is a comb made from a dolphin's jaw.

The mantle of seal or otter skin, the only native garment worn, has become rare. We saw a few, but most of the Indians possessed none. This mantle measures about three

square meters and is made of fur-seal or otter skin; it is worn over the shoulders and is fastened about the neck with plaited leather strings. The head and the legs are uncovered, and shoes are not worn (fig. 143). The women wrap a piece of cloth around their hips; presumably a skin was originally thus worn.

Ornaments are little used, and most of them are identical with those described and figured by Hyades as employed by the Yahgan.

Necklaces of small shells (*Photinula violacea*) are seen, sometimes arranged with great skill along a neatly plaited leather string, and similar strings are worn as bracelets. Often a flat, polished piece of bone is used as a pendant. It is of interest that on some of these I observed a primitive attempt at decorative art not hitherto known to exist among the Fuegians (using the term in its widest sense), that is, regularly arranged points and lines (fig. 144). The men have the same ornaments as the Yahgan (though none were seen in use) — the “diadem” of white feathers, probably of *Chloëphaga hybrida* ♂.

The inner side of the mantle, the strings, and even the harpoon handles, oars, etc., are painted red with hematite, which they keep in the dried esophagus of a sea-lion. They also paint themselves with the same material.

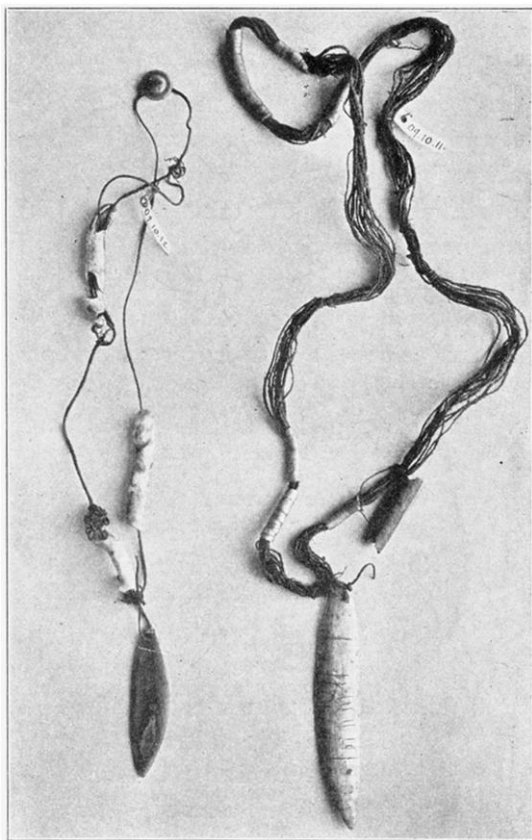


FIG. 144.—Necklaces with pendants. The example to the right is decorated. ($\frac{3}{8}$)

FOOD AND ITS ACQUIREMENT

Hyades has especially pointed out that the principal food of the Yahgans consists of mollusks, and the same is true of the West

Patagonians. I think that the animals mentioned in Hyades' work are all present in the channels. Indeed everything edible is used, as seals, otter, birds, fish of all kinds, and of course whales. The natives are not able to hunt large whales, but they take full advantage of one whenever they find it stranded. The people in Port Bueno had an abundance of whale blubber, and not far from the camping-place we saw the remains of two whales of medium size, and some carcasses had stranded at Port Grappler. Larger whales, which happen to come into the narrow channels, easily go aground, when they are taken by the Indians. The whalers in Punta Arenas also visit the channels.

Mollusks are eaten raw or are roasted on hot coals, when they open and are ready for use. They are very palatable.

Harpoons are the most important weapons and are of the same types as those of the Yahgan, having a single barb or cut like a saw. Another type has a barb on each side, but I am not aware that it is used for a special purpose. The harpoon is handled in the same manner as is pictured by Hyades. Slings and traps for birds are also employed. On the other hand, we never saw any fishing tackle, presumably because since steamers have frequented the channels, giving the Indians repeated opportunity to beg or barter, they do not devote themselves to an occupation with such dubious results as fishing.



FIG. 145.—Top of stick for catching sea-urchins. four prongs being forced apart by two small sticks (fig. 145); it thus differs slightly from the implement figured by Hyades.

We saw bows and arrows only in Port Gallant, where the Indians make them for tourists. Everywhere in the channels we asked for them, but were always assured that none existed. Probably they were used mostly in warfare, but also for hunting on expeditions into Baker, Ultima Esperanza, Skyring, and other waters.

Another weapon, whose existence was hitherto unknown to us, is a heavy club, 60 cm. in length, and, according to our interpreter, made of tepú-root (*Tepualia stipularis*). Only in Port Grappler



FIG. 146.—West Patagonian club. ($\frac{1}{8}$)

were these clubs seen. They are probably used for killing seal and otter (fig. 146).

We are also certain that the channel Indians once used the boleadora, the well-known weapon of the pampa Indians. On an excursion to Cape Victory, in order to find an Indian cemetery reported to be situated in a large cavern, Captain Bordes found a beautiful boleadora of gray stone (fig. 147). This may perhaps be regarded as an indication that channel and pampa Indians once met on the eastern coast of Skyring water.

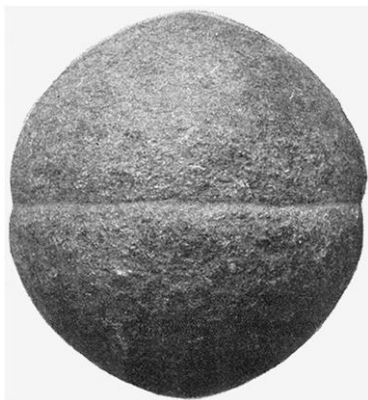


FIG. 147.—Boleadora from Cape Victory. ($\frac{5}{16}$)

VOCABULARY

Most of the words given below were recorded from the dictation of Emilia and verified whenever occasion offered. I hope that I have come as near to the correct sounds of the words as is possible without devising a new and elaborate alphabet. It should be noted that different individuals have a somewhat different pronunciation. Through the studies of Hyades, which seem excellent, we know that the Yahgan have a very intricate grammar, with, for example, four conjugations and an astonishing set of tenses, and there is no reason why this should not be the case also with the West Patagonian language. But in trying to penetrate the maze of an Indian language, I met an insurmountable obstacle, namely,

Emilia knew but little Spanish; her vocabulary was very limited, and she could express herself only in the infinitive or in the third person singular.

In spite of all this, I feel that my list is fairly, although certainly not absolutely, correct. In support of this, I may say that I have been able to identify about all the words published by Hyades (p. 278); in the exceptional cases I believe I can prove that his source of information, Dr Fenton, was mistaken.

Thanks to the great kindness of Professor K. B. Wiklund, of Upsala, I have been able to adopt a phonetic alphabet by means of which the words can readily be pronounced.

<i>a</i> = <i>a</i> in German <i>Hand</i> .	ě, a very short, imperfect <i>e</i> .
<i>e</i> = <i>e</i> in English <i>get</i> .	ž, a very short, imperfect <i>i</i> .
<i>i</i> = the narrow <i>i</i> in German <i>Kind</i> .	ä = <i>a</i> in English <i>hand</i> .
<i>y</i> = <i>ü</i> in German <i>Glück</i> .	ö = <i>eu</i> in French <i>seul</i> .
<i>o</i> = <i>o</i> in German <i>Gott</i> .	<i>w</i> = English <i>w</i> , as in <i>wet</i> .
<i>u</i> = <i>u</i> in English <i>bull</i> .	<i>j</i> = English <i>y</i> in <i>yes</i> , but more sibilant.
<i>au</i> = diphthongal <i>au</i> .	č = a more palatal <i>ch</i> than in Engl. <i>child</i> .
<i>r</i> is pronounced with the point of the tongue and is a very hard trill.	š = English <i>sh</i> .
<i>ʀ</i> is the uvular trill like the French <i>r</i> .	š' = a palatalized š.
<i>x</i> = a very hard, Spanish <i>j</i> .	ʰ = aspiration.
<i>ʀ</i> = surd <i>r</i> .	— = length of a vowel.
ă, a very short, imperfect <i>a</i> .	˙ = principal, : = secondary stress.

afraid, <i>kje'lu</i>	baleen (strip of), <i>tāš'</i>
always, <i>a'kwa:</i>	barter, <i>klirrR</i>
angry, <i>a'tta:š'</i>	basket, <i>tā'ju</i>
arm, <i>tū'kwe:l</i>	bear (a child), <i>tī'kjāuš'</i>
arrow, <i>a'rxkje:l</i>	beard, <i>ā'fejuk</i>
asleep, <i>či'rš'takwarrR</i> ¹	bed, <i>pāpēt.ā:l</i>
answer (to), <i>kjāu'kr-kstīš'</i>	to go to bed, <i>pāp</i>
bad, <i>češ'lā'bōrrR</i>	binocle, <i>la'ksxā:r</i>
bag (of sealskin), <i>ha'p'pelu</i>	black, <i>pa'l(kuarrR)</i> ²
bailer, <i>ta'pasā:ā</i>	blood, <i>kī'blajk</i>

¹ The suffix *kwarrR* is very common and seems to designate a condition or a quality possessed by something: hence *či'rš'ta*, to sleep, *či'rš's'ta-kwarrR*, being asleep. The color names also end in *kwarrR*; a thing is *pa'lkwarrR*, i. e. possesses a black color. Another example is *a'rxkje:l*, arrow; *a'rxkje:lkwarrR*, quiver = 'the thing that holds the arrows.'

² = "Capitán cristiano" (Emilia). See page 615.

blubber (whale-), <i>a'iska:</i>	dead, <i>töff</i>
blue (or green?), <i>a'rx(ruarrR)</i> ¹	dive (to), <i>ksāu'i</i>
boat (life-), <i>čārru</i>	dog, <i>č(i)a'łki</i> (male, <i>č(i)a'łki ārrk</i> ; bitch, <i>č(i)a'łki wā'łök'</i>)
bone, <i>kārr</i>	duck, <i>ka'ip⁴</i>
bore-mussel, <i>kāu'lagill</i>	ear, <i>te'łka:olo</i> or (?) <i>ku'rrxš'kial</i>
boy, <i>ā'jo:l</i>	early, <i>a'łšłkwa:l</i>
breast, <i>āu'rxk'</i> (plural-form?)	east, <i>či'kerr</i>
bucket, <i>čāu'klā:l</i>	egg, <i>jo'ri(š')l</i>
button, <i>če'pe:rrR</i>	esophagus of seal, used to keep iron ocher in, <i>kje'łłöf</i>
buy, <i>čā'š'</i>	evil, <i>či'łögdł</i>
camp, <i>a'triš'kārr</i>	eye, <i>teš'l</i>
canoe, West Patagonian, <i>kiā'lu</i> ; Yah- gan, <i>a'łš'li</i> ; of one log, <i>je'kukłtai</i>	face, <i>tö'šłka:l</i>
captain, <i>siu'ftiu:r¹</i>	fall, <i>ku'rxkā:l⁵</i>
cardium (mussel), <i>ksku'lārrR</i>	fat, <i>a'fāč</i>
cat (tame), <i>i'rritu</i>	father, <i>či'čārr</i>
celery, <i>kō'łš'čāu:</i>	fine weather, <i>kš'āš'</i>
channel, <i>ččā'pl-i'kiaut-kle²</i>	finger, <i>tāu'xlxa:rkł</i>
cheek, <i>či'pipr</i>	fire, <i>š'ta'ika:l</i>
chest, <i>kje'pxa:rrR</i>	fish (to), <i>ki'rksta</i>
chief, <i>rāu-rāu</i>	flower, <i>i'ksta:xl⁶</i>
chin, <i>afā'čēčš'</i>	fly, <i>a'ppāš'</i>
cinders, <i>tāšł</i>	fog, <i>či'tāš'</i>
clothes, <i>a'či:ču:</i>	food, <i>łö'fi:š'</i> ; "good eating," <i>łö'fi:š'</i> <i>lā'ip</i>
club, <i>kā'rksku.łiš'</i>	foot, <i>če'ku:rrR</i>
coipu, <i>te'łesta:t</i>	forehead, <i>teš'l-kārr⁷</i>
come, <i>łö'ča:l</i>	friend, <i>kwa'łtak</i>
cold, <i>kī'š'āš'</i>	fur-seal, <i>ārr</i> ; skin of fur-seal, <i>ārr-kāuš'</i>
cry (to), <i>a'łi(š')sta:</i>	girl, <i>ā'jāu:š'</i>
cure (to), <i>či'š'ela:i</i>	glad, <i>pa'łxa:rrR</i>
cut (to), <i>aje'rarR</i>	gloaming, <i>ka'łalō:rk</i>
dark, <i>kš'ł'pi:š'</i>	go, <i>āš'</i>
daughter, <i>telōkstā'-š'eliš'</i> (or -s) ³	
day, <i>kā'łögti</i> ; to-day, <i>lāfk</i> (also = now)	

¹ Emilia also used this for "green"; if a mistake of hers, I ignore it. The word *arx* means sky, the color of the sky.

² From "sea" and "small, narrow." I do not know the word *kle*.

³ The word *š'elis* means woman, female, for it is used also in combination with *i'ppā: i'ppāš'elis*.

⁴ The so-called loggerhead or steamer duck (*Tachyeres cinereus*).

⁵ This is very uncertain. Note the likeness with *ku'rrxš'kial*, ear.

⁶ I believe this is some special kind of flower. I should not think the natives would have a general term for flower.

⁷ From *teš'l*, eye, and *kārr*, bone.

good, <i>lā'ip</i>	know, <i>ko'i</i>
guanaco, <i>lai'xe:l</i>	land, <i>ti⁸</i>
hair, <i>te'rrkō:f</i>	large, <i>a'kwil</i>
hand, <i>te'rrwa:</i>	laugh, <i>a'lōk's'ta</i>
handle, <i>kāræ</i>	leaf, (x) <i>kliš'</i>
hard, <i>š'au'jip</i>	leather-rope (of seal-hide): (1) large one, for fixing the seal-harpoon on the handle, <i>ki'rkela</i> ; (2) smaller, <i>li:š'ek-</i> <i>la'lgu</i>
harpoon: (1) with two opposite barbs <i>iš'i¹</i> , (2) like a saw, <i>tō'ldā:rr</i> ; (3) with one barb, small, <i>ā'leju</i> ; (4) with one barb, larger point, <i>i'rš'Rēil</i>	leave, <i>i'rxflai</i>
he, <i>čaux(l)</i>	leg, <i>kat, ka'txkāræ</i>
hear, <i>ti'ls'kior</i>	light, <i>kjāu'jeskwa:l</i>
heart, <i>či'llak</i>	lip, <i>af'ē'rē</i>
heel, <i>kiāu'tbi</i>	love (to), <i>a'tula:(š')</i>
hide, skin, <i>kāuš'</i> or <i>o'pōlxa:ī²</i>	man, <i>a'kšš</i>
hide (to), <i>a'kwa:l</i>	mantle, <i>ā'llak</i>
hoar-frost, <i>aka'pš'ti</i>	match, <i>i:kš'tā'⁷</i>
horse, <i>āu'reli</i>	many, <i>a'kja:i, a'kj:āuš'</i>
house, <i>āt</i> , plur. <i>ātk³</i>	meat, (h) <i>i'pr</i>
(the large house: <i>a'tiš'kār-a'kwil-āt⁴</i>)	milk, <i>āu'rxk⁸</i>
I, <i>čix(l)</i>	moon, <i>i'rkapiš'-ā'luk</i>
ice, <i>ōkia'rš'li</i>	mother, <i>čāp</i>
ill, <i>ā'lōl(k)⁵</i>	mountain, <i>ui'š'⁹</i>
intestines, <i>kāu'tkstl</i>	mouse, <i>a'tuelōp</i>
iron ochre, <i>iš'lāliš'</i>	mouth, <i>a'flai¹⁰</i>
island, <i>a'liš'ka:rræ</i>	mussel, <i>ka'puk</i> ; the large <i>Mytilus</i> : <i>a'klē'āu'l</i>
kelp (Macrocytis), <i>kičā'pōkš'</i>	my, <i>hōš</i>
kelpgoose (male), <i>ate'č'lap</i>	nail, <i>jekl (-lāu'xlxa:rk^l)</i>
kelpgoose (female), <i>āā'rip</i>	neck, <i>kjāu'š'lerrxāræ</i>
kind, <i>a'fli:š'</i>	necklace, <i>skæ'ryks-a'ppōlela¹¹</i>
knee, <i>sko'i'bi:š'</i>	nest, <i>kiut-kiut</i>
knife, <i>af'tā'sæ</i>	

¹ Harpoon + shaft is called *iš'lkāræ*.

² This perhaps to designate guanaco-skin (see Hyades, p. 278).

³ *a'kjai ātk*, many houses.

⁴ Literally, camp-large-house.

⁵ *a'kjai ā'lōlk*, many are ill.

⁶ Probably because *ui'š'kti* = land with mountains (*ui'š'* = mountain).

⁷ *š'tā't* is probably the same word as in *š'ta'tka:l*, fire.

⁸ The same word means breast. I dare say I am not mistaken, for according to Hyades the Yaghans express themselves in the same way.

⁹ *ui'š'a'kwil*, high, large mountain.

¹⁰ I suppose that *af* is the same syllable as appears in the words for beard, chin, and lip.

¹¹ Plaited sinews (*skæ'ryks*) of whale (*a'pāla*). The necklace of mollusks is called *keigjol* (= *Photinula violacea*).

new, <i>i'apegä:ɹ</i>	sew, <i>skjāpš'</i>
night, <i>kš'li'pi:š'¹</i>	sheep, <i>wo'š'i</i>
no, <i>ta'xli, kjip</i>	sinew (of whale), <i>skæ'yks</i>
north, <i>ja'kurlär</i>	sit, <i>š'i'är</i>
nose, <i>läu'xl</i> ; nasal bone: <i>läu'xl-kär</i>	skin (otter), <i>lae'lll.Räuš'</i>
nothing, <i>kjip²</i>	skin (fur-seal), <i>ärk-Räuš'</i>
now, <i>läfk</i>	sky, <i>arrx'</i>
oar, <i>le'pokwa:rr</i>	south, <i>š'i'ptæ:š'li</i>
old, <i>rā'š'u</i>	speak, <i>kstiš'</i>
ona, <i>ui'š'-kalegr³</i>	star, <i>k'ollaš'</i>
ornament of white feathers, <i>š'i'pa:la</i>	steamer, <i>a'sxə:r, wa'jeku</i>
otter, large, <i>lä.elll</i> ; small otter, <i>ta'šušš'i:š</i>	stick to loosen the patella mussels from their substratum, <i>i'lš'čikū:</i>
pain, <i>kjō'fte:l</i>	stick for gathering sea-urchins, <i>i'ä-pi'š'ān':j</i>
painter, <i>ā'lčē:š'l</i>	stomach, <i>kai'tš'el</i>
paper, <i>ta'jlkalka</i>	stone, <i>kje'tš'lau</i>
peat moss, <i>č'äöpl</i>	stool (to go to), <i>a'kut</i>
<i>Photinula</i> (small mollusk), <i>kei'-gjo:l</i>	storm, <i>?a'rrkaš'la:rr</i>
pick-ax, <i>kā'risä:</i>	string (round the wrist), <i>ka'tksau</i>
pipe, <i>te'lksär</i>	slow, <i>šō'lo:ktu</i>
pricker, <i>i'ä:ptæ;</i> with handle, <i>i'ä:-ptæ-kär</i>	small, <i>i'kjāu:t</i>
puma, <i>ča'u:l</i>	snow, <i>a'ka:be:</i>
quiver, <i>a'rxkje:l-kwarr⁴</i>	son, <i>te'löksta</i>
rain, <i>ō'ppera:š'</i>	summer, <i>jā'kaxš'l</i>
rainbow, <i>akja'ielökl</i>	sun , <i>arrx-ä'luk</i> (<i>arrx'</i> = sky)
red, <i>kiru(-kwarr)</i>	swim, <i>ō'llpai:l</i>
rise, <i>a'llär</i>	tepú, <i>pī'leku:tl</i>
rock, <i>ke'pči:kl</i>	thank you, <i>kwa'kju:</i>
robalo (fish), <i>jāu'čern</i>	thigh, <i>ā'iš'u</i>
run (to), <i>a'lāš'</i>	thin (meager), <i>ā'jip</i>
sand, <i>afāu'lš'a</i>	thou, <i>tāu'x(l)</i>
sea, <i>ččā'pl</i>	throat, <i>je'lka:rr</i>
seal (fur-seal), <i>är</i>	thumb, <i>aiš'⁵</i>
seal (sea-lion), <i>ā'læl-är</i>	to-day, <i>läfk</i>
sea-urchin, <i>tāu:xlā'ri</i>	tongue, <i>lökl</i>
see, <i>lō'kjo</i>	tooth, <i>če.egdi</i>

¹ = Dark.² In Port Grappler I heard *kjap*.³ By this term the "foot" or pampa Indians—the Onas or Tehuelches—are designated. As *ui'š'* means land, mountain, *kalegr* may be the word for people, thus "land tribe" in contradistinction to "canoe tribe."⁴ This is a curious word; it should mean "many tongues" (?).⁵ Same word for "great toe."

town, *āt bā'la*¹
 trap, *taiš'*
 tree, *xa'rltōkl*
 urinate, *skarrš'*
 voluta (large mollusk), *au'rxal*
 warm, *a'pō:l*
 water, *aki'ēakwarrn*²
 waterfall, *kstā'ikš'*
 west, *a'ēikulail*
 wet, *stāu'la:ga*
 whale, *a'pāla*

white, *iš'kapiš'* (*kwarrn*);³ white man,
i'ppā,⁴ white woman, *i'ppā'š'elis*
 wife, *kjāu'ja*
 wind, *a'keil*
 winter, *a'ka:be*
 woman, *čirkš'*
 wood, *čē'a:la*; firewood, *sa mā*
 wound, *čē'lrō:pl*
 yes, *a'lo*
 yesterday, *i'ēebistai*
 young, *la'falō:š'*

NUMERALS

one, *ta'kso* or *da'kuduk*⁵
 two, *u'kl(k)*

three, *tāu'kl(k)* or *ukkl-at-tāuukl*
 four, etc., *a'kja:i* (= many)

NAMES OF PLANTS

In his paper "*Plantae per Fuegiam collectae*" (Buenos Aires, 1896), Spegazzini has given numerous names of indigenous plants and parts of plants, some of them quoted as being *Alukulup*. Most of these coincide with those given here, which proves that they are West Patagonian or from the Straits of Magellan. Those marked by an asterisk correspond to names given also by Spegazzini.

Apium australe, *kō'lš'ēau*:
Azorella caespitosa a. o. } *tōšl*⁶
Bolax Bovei }
Bolax gummifera }
Baccharis patagonica,⁷ *kī'lpel*
Berberis ilicifolia, *čič'*
Berberis empetrifolia, **kjā'rrr*
Chilotrichum diffusum, *kjāu'o:rrr*
Colobanthus subulatus, *tōšl*
Corallina chilensis, *čēā'pl-a'jeku*⁸
Crassula moschata, *ui'š'kti-a'jeku*⁹
Donatia fascicularis, *kār-a'jeku*

Drimys Winteri, **šā'la-kwarrn*; the
 stem, *kī'otopi*
Embothrium coccineum, *šē'tirkš'*
Empetrum rubrum, *pī'lekuil*¹⁰
Escallonia serrata, *jā'ju*
Gleichenia quadripartita, *a'kiu:tuel*
Gunnera magellanica, *pa'jkauta*
Lebetanthus myrsinites, *ka'ūš'tā:t*
Libocedrus tetragona, **lapā'jekl*
Macrocystis pyrifera, *kičā'pökš'*
Marsippospermum grandiflorum, *čē*-
pā:š' or **je'kkabi:sse*

¹ *āt* = house. I do not know the word *bā'la*, perhaps = many.

² Used to designate lake, stream, etc., also the bucket for containing drinking water for canoe journeys.

³ Possibly the same as *i'rkapiš'* (in *i'rkapiš' aluk*, moon).

⁴ I have heard *i'ppā-i'kš'ta:t* = the man with the matches.

⁵ A similar word is used by the *Alukulups*.

⁶ All these plants have the same *habitus*: compact cushions.

⁷ Spegazzini thus calls *Escallonia serrata*.

⁸ From *čēā'pl*, sea, and *a'jeku*. I do not know the sense of this word. *Corallina* is an alga. The *Yahgans* use *ayakou* (Hyades) for *Maytenus*.

⁹ From *ui'š'kti*, stone, ground, and *a'jeku*.

¹⁰ The same word is used for *Tepualia*.

<i>Maytenus magellanica</i> , a'iku ¹	<i>Philesia magellanica</i> , ko'lla-ko'lla
<i>Myrteola nummularia</i> , tetš'i-kwarrr ²	<i>Porphyra</i> sp., a'ttiš'
<i>Myzodendron punctulatum</i> , te'šlitetio:la	<i>Pseudopanax laetevirens</i> , a'iku
<i>Nothofagus betuloides</i> , *a'llkol	<i>Scirpus cernuus</i> , š'a'kã:lř
<i>Pernettya mucronata</i> , le'tipiš'-kwarrr ³	<i>Tepualia stipularis</i> , pi'lekull

SENTENCES

The following short sentences were noted:

lāfk ki'š'aš'tk, it is cold today.

lāfk a'pölerk, it is warm today.

lāfk ö'pperaš'k, it rains today.

lāfk aka'belerk, it snows today.

a'kš'ěš' čiš'elaik, the man cures.

čauxl ā'lōlk, he is ill.

Emilia skjā'pš' tā'ju lā'ip, Emilia sews a nice basket.

hōš' kjau'ia, my wife.

tauxl' kjau'ia, thy wife.

čauksl' kjau'ia, his wife.

ta'š'liku:lla, I will not.

čāp a'tala:š'k i'kjaut, the mother loves the baby.

ā'jo:l-i'kjaut a'tuiš'tak, the small boy cries.

i'kjaut a'łōkš'tak, the baby smiles.

čirkš' kjip' kjau'krsti:š'k, the woman does not answer.

kje'pxarl' kjö'ftelk, have a pain in the chest.

There is no likeness at all between this language and Yahgan. Comparison of my words with the elaborate vocabulary given by Hyades and Fitzroy shows only one that offers any resemblance:

ui'š', land, mountain; *ouči* (Hyades), *óshě* (Fitzroy).

Of much greater importance is the fact that Hyades gives a list of Alukulup words which he compares with those obtained by Fitzroy, showing that the two tongues are distinct, and that therefore the Indians of the Patagonian channels cannot be regarded as Alukulup. There are, however, some words, especially in Fitzroy's list, which seem to be identical in the two languages; in nearly all cases they do not correspond with those in Hyades' list,

¹ *teiš'i* perhaps means the edible berries.

² A similar word is used by the Yahgans for the same plant. Emilia also used it for *Pseudopanax*.

³ *le'tipiš'* are probably the edible berries.

which probably signifies that Fitzroy was mistaken and that his list is of dual origin, i. e., Alukulup and West Patagonian.

kārR, bone: *tçélél-karh* (Hyades); H. has also *ouchka-é*, Fitzroy *osh'kiä*. This

last word may be the true Alukulup expression.

kī's'āš', cold: *kisbāch* (Fitzroy).

lō'piš', to eat: *louf-aich* (Hyades), *lūf'fīsh* (Fitzroy); H. also gives *yo-arh*, probably the proper Alukulup term.

teš'l, eye: *tēlkh* (Fitzroy).

lā'ip, good: Fitzroy has *ly'ip*, Hyades *la-laif*.

āl, house: *āht* (Fitzroy).

afta'sāč, knife: *āfta'rē* (Fitzroy).

a'kwil, large: *ōw'guēl*¹ (Fitzroy), *havuf kil* (Hyades).

kāl, leg: *cūt* (Fitzroy).

i'kjaut, small: *yico-al*² (Fitzroy).

a'kš'ēš', man: *ācr'inīsh* (Fitzroy).

čāp, mother: *chahp* (Fitzroy).

a'fēāč, lip: Fitzroy has *āf'fēāre* for "mouth."

da'kuduk, one: *tōw'quidōw* (Fitzroy); *takou aido* (Hyades).³

ō'pperaš', rain: *āb'quāhsh* (Fitzroy).

čč'ā'pl, sea: *chah'buēl* (Fitzroy).

a'ka:be:, snow: Fitzroy has *āc'cūba* for *sky*.

kō'llaš', star: *kounn'-ach* (Hyades), *gus'nāsh* or *conash* (Fitzroy).

āš', to go, to walk: *hach* (Hyades), *ahsh* (Fitzroy), but Hyades has also *ker-né*, which may be the proper Alukulup term.

As a result of this comparison I shall again emphasize: (1) When in their lists Fitzroy and Hyades have the same expression, the West Patagonian word is in most cases a different one. (2) When they have different words, the one given by the former is often identical with a word in my list, which is of West Patagonian origin.

Finally, Hyades publishes a short list of words which he obtained from Dr Th. Fenton in Punta Arenas. His informants were three young "Alakalouf" women, "taken" in Crooked reach (Straits of Magellan). Hyades himself remarks that there is only a single word, *laip*, common to this list and the two other lists. With this exception Dr Fenton's list is absolutely different. Hyades does not doubt that the young ladies in question were Alukulup,

¹ Fitzroy has the same word to indicate full moon.

² Fitzroy has the same word to indicate new moon.

³ A similar word is used by the Alukulups.

but he is puzzled by the different languages and remarks that there may exist "plusieurs dialectes chez les Alakalouf."

I think that we are able to solve this problem, for a study of Dr Fenton's list shows that nearly all the words are identical with those recorded by us in the channels. In this case, as before, when dealing with Hyades' vocabulary, we must not forget that his words are to be pronounced as in French. Following is a revision of Dr Fenton's list:

tcharkoug, fire. Emilia knew this word, but did not use it for fire.

chalki, *chalki oualaki*, dog and bitch (see our list).

chalk'iki, small dog, is probably right.

kikikkarak } male and female woodpecker. I do not know this word, but
kikikoualaki } Emilia had heard it and it is probably correct. The affixes *karak*
 and *oualaki* correspond with *arrk* and *wā'lōk'* in our list.

orel'lé, horse = *au'reli*.

yépeurh', meat = (*h*)*i**pr*.

yp'pa, *ypa'çelis*, are given for men and women; see our list: *i'ppā*, *ippā's'elis*,
 white man and white woman.

yauol'ykaout, boy = *ā'jo:l i'kjāu:t*.

yaouch'ykaout, girl = *ā'jāu:s' i'kjāu:t*.

tchou' kourrh', foot = *če'ku:rr*.

kath'karrh' is translated leg, "face anterieure"; I have it as leg. *kath* stands
 for thigh; I do not know if it is used in another sense than the first one. For
 thigh we have another term.

ter'va, hand = *te'rrua*:

délh, eye = *teš'l*.

délh'kooulo, ear = *te'lka:olo*.

térhkaoufh', hair = *te'rrkō:f*.

tcharikh, nose, is different.

çirikti, teeth = *če'regdi*.

afouiouk', beard = *ā'fejuk*

kat, stick, is unknown to us, as well as *hathkoupourhkar*, rings.

darkalkhl, fingers = *tāu'xlxa:rkł*.

harkaçi, seal = *ārr-kaus'*, but this means sealskin.

laldalkaous, otter = *lae'lıl-kaus'*, which signifies otter-skin.

ouayékharh', canoe = *wa'jeku*, a word used for steamer by our interpreter.

al'lio, oar; we obtained *le'pokwa:rr* for this.

alilki, sick = *ā'lōlk*.

lékeurh', language: probably a mistake for *lōkl*, tongue.

çiparh', button = *če'pe:rrr*.

oukéulkh, much = *ukłk*, but this means "two."

tali2, basket = *tā'ju*

tchalabarh', evil = *češ'lā'bōrrē*; *tchabakta*, bad, is unknown to us.

laip, good, nice = *lā'ip*.

orri', egg = *jo'ri(š')l*.

yaoutchilh, fish = *jāu'čē:rē*.

dakadour, one = *da'kuduk*.

ourkh', breasts = *āu'rxk'*.

ytkouli, no = *?ta'š'liku:lla*, I do not wish to ("no quiero").

ailaou, yes = *a'jlo*.

m'na, nothing (probably wrong).

a-hā-hā, all (probably wrong).

oppeurkilh, guanaco-skin = *o'pōrxa:l*.

The words in Dr Fenton's list were verified by a young "Alakalouf" boy in Punta Arenas, who also gave synonyms for three words in Hyades' list—*kaoui*, ear; *noēlh*, nose; *deuf*, ill. Only the last one was recognized by Emilia, according to whom it means "dead," and is pronounced "töff."

In addition, Hyades gained some additional words from the same source. We will revise them also.

kitchikouar, water = *aki'čakwa:rē*.

ourkouarh', head, is unknown to us.

okhtchikouar, rain, is evidently the same as *kitchikouar*.

terkarh', feathers = *?te'rrokō:f*, hair.

oftēkalh, mouth = *a'fta:i*.

ašteuŋki, knife = *afta'se*.

*koka*s, firewood = *ā'ā:s*.¹

alguéléra, dead = ?

toskarkçe, nail = *iāu'xlxa:rkł*, finger.

iaftokękarh, harpoon = ?

kiecka, birds = ?

taikalka, paper = *ta'jika:ilka*.

çouftiourlaip, generous = *siu'ftiu:r lā'ip* = "nice captain."

The above represents the limited extent of the linguistic results of our excursion. In spite of its defects, our brief vocabulary proves that we have a fourth language, which may be spoken of as "Fuegian," and which would seem to justify its publication. As we shall see, there is even a fifth language, of which we know nothing at all.

On the occasion of my last visit to Harberton Harbor, my friend Mr W. Bridges, son of the late Rev. Thomas Bridges, the well-

¹ The sound is sometimes so hard and sharp that it closely resembles *k*.

known Yahgan missionary, informed me of a practically unknown and extinct tribe in Tierra del Fuego. These people were called "Hush" (*hōš*) and lived along the shores of the Strait of Le Maire, eastern Tierra del Fuego; they made hunting excursions to the interior, at the same time gathering shells, and engaging in fishing, sealing, etc., leading a life intermediate between that of the Onas and the Yaghans, for they were "foot-Indians," with a shell-fish diet. They did not use canoes, probably because their coast is very open and there is a swell which makes navigation dangerous if not impossible. It is not impossible that, as I have pointed out in my book, *The Wilds of Patagonia*, the Hush were of mixed origin, being descendants of Onas and Yaghans, who formerly met at the eastern part of Beagle channel. According to Mr Bridges, not a single pure-blood Hush survives. In Harberton was an old man who looked like a Yahgan; his father was Hush, his mother Yahgan. He had been married to a Hush woman and had two daughters; the wife was dead, the last of her people, for the husband and children were, as we have seen, of mixed origin. Their language was said to be different from either Ona or Yahgan. I suspect that the natives in Good Success bay, so vividly pictured by Darwin, belonged to the Hush tribe.

Finally, some remarks on the accompanying map. I have endeavored, partly with the aid of Hyades' map, to give the former distribution of the "Fuegian" tribes. The Onas¹ are now driven back from their old hunting grounds on the Fuegian pampa. There are probably very few families left in a wild state; they are said to keep in the forests (*Nothofagus pumilio* mostly) around Lago Deseado and Lago Fagnano, which latter is called Cami by them, according to Mr W. Bridges. I have seen smoke on the northern shore of Lago Fagnano, about 20 km. from the western end. Some families work on the farms of the Messrs Bridges and move along the route from Harberton to Lago Fagnano and Cape St Inez. Some are at the Catholic mission station at Rio Grande, and some at the station in Harris bay on Dawson island.

¹ As is well known, the Onas only geographically are Fuegians; otherwise they are of the Tehuelche type.

Of the Yahgans, the head stock, about 170 persons lived in 1909 at the Evangelic mission station in Douglas bay on Navarin island (formerly in Tekenika). I am not aware of any in even a semi-savage state. The land of the Alukulups is also deserted; the whole tribe numbers only a handful of members, who live on Dawson island.

Finally, the West Patagonians seem to have abandoned the Straits of Magellan, excepting those visiting Port Gallant. It is of no use for them to remain there, in spite of the traffic, for steamers no longer stop to barter with them. The contrary is the case in the channels, where they live in a semi-savage state. Their route of travel is generally by way of Smyth channel and Messier channel, occasionally making visits to Baker inlet, Ultima Esperanza, and Obstruction sound.

I have noted on the map the two important vegetation lines which show that the canoe Indians kept to those shores where the rain-forest, which makes the land practically uninhabitable, is found, except for a part of Beagle channel and the Straits, where there is a mixed forest or a purely deciduous one of *Nothofagus pumilio*. The pampa and the less dense forests, alternating with open fields, were occupied by the Onas.

UNIVERSITY OF UPSALA,

UPSALA, SWEDEN